HUMAN EVENTS

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News Section *Printed in Two Sections*

SURRENDERBUND: *Lodge replaces Stassen*.... (page 1)

US CAPTIVES: *Conservatives demand action*.... (page 1)

ALASKA: *How it happened*.... (page 2)

LABOR: *Workers in revolt*.... (page 3)

PENTAGON: *Dangers of Ike's bill*.... (page 4)

Downgrading America: Crumbling of the US front against the world-wide forces advocating appeasement of the Soviet Union marks the course of events, not only for newspaper readers but also for those who perceive the behind-the-scenes maneuvering under way in the Capital.

Few in Washington doubt that the pattern of kidnappings, capture and imprisonment of US service personnel all over the globe originated in the Kremlin. In East Germany, Soviet Armenia and Cuba these incidents are designed to spell out to the world that American policy is vacillating and weak. The arrogant attitude of Moscow towards the scientific meeting in Geneva to consider suspension of atomic tests fits in with this same global strategy (see "Strange Coincidence" item, below).

Finally, the crisis in Lebanon illumines the retreat of the American President from the strong position he assumed a year and a half ago, when he announced "the Eisenhower Doctrine," advertised as a program to keep the Middle East out of the Soviet orbit.

A month ago, according to reliable sources, Ike sent a personal letter to Premier Chamoun of Lebanon, assuring him of full military support if the Lebanese chief found his country in danger. If and when this document comes to public light it may rank in history alongside some of Neville Chamberlain's famous notes in the Munich crisis of 1938, reassuring Prague while the British Prime Minister was actually selling Czechoslovakia down the river. So remark the diplomatic correspondents.

Those who talk with people in the State Department claim, in fact, that Lebanon has already been "sold out." No troops will be sent by the US to bolster the Christian Arab republic's frail forces, battling Nasser's "volunteers." A month or so may elapse before Lebanon inexorably becomes part of the Nasser- and Moscow-controlled United Arab Republic.

After that happens, not much time will pass before Jordan and Iraq go the same way. Then Saudi Arabia and Iran will follow — with Turkey becoming a sort of Finland under Russian domination. Meanwhile, the petroleum on which Western Europe depends will also come under Kremlin control, with implications recalling the Suez crisis. Such are the predictions heard along diplomatic row.

Who is the architect of this US policy of default in the Middle East? None other — it seems — than US Ambassador to the United Nations Henry Cabot Lodge.

When the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Secretary Dulles advised sending the Marines into Lebanon, Lodge reportedly went to the President and got him to veto that advice and to transfer the Lebanese dispute to the United Nations. Lodge's friend, UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold (who is also a friend of the famous Swedish sociologist, Gunnar Myrdal), was sent on a fact-finding mission to Lebanon and returned with the usual feeble plan for UN observers. Unless unforeseen circumstances to the contrary arise, it is widely believed that the Lodge course will prevail.

Thus, Lodge succeeds Stassen as the leading advocate of appeasement within the kitchen cabinet, and the candidate of the "liberals" to succeed Dulles as Secretary of State. Lodge's "soft-on-communism" role is no surprise to those who watched his part in the cabal which fought the late Senator McCarthy.

Nor is all this surprising to old hands in the State Department, who now say it was Lodge (not Dulles) who effectively stopped the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt in the fall of 1956. Lodge prematurely, for reasons best known to himself, launched the decisive verbal attack on these three powers in the midst of the critical week which settled the fate of Suez. And today, say informed sources, Lodge bypasses Dulles and deals with Eisenhower directly.

Cuba: Cries of resentment rise on Capitol Hill — as legislators contemplate the spectacle of America's failure to protect US military personnel in Communist East Germany, Soviet Armenia, and — what is characterized as the final degradation—right on our doorstep in the Republic of Cuba. Sailors and marines from our naval base at Guantanamo, as well as private US citizens, were kidnapped and held by the rebel Castro forces; and the return of some of these captives has not assuaged angry members of Congress.

This incident particularly attracts attention, because Fidel Castro has a pro-Communist record which dovetails perfectly with the Red kidnapping policy he has adopted, in the global campaign to destroy US prestige.

It is also recalled that we obtained a hemispheric treaty at Rio de Janeiro in 1947 (including most of the Latin American republics), providing for the furnishing of arms to Western Hemisphere governments with which we have established relations.

Yet the US Government, through its staff in Cuba, deals directly with the rebel Castro forces for release of our military personnel. This diplomatic staff issues an assurance that we will give no equipment to the regular Cuban Government of Batista, now trying to capture and wipe out the rebels.

Instead of this procedure, say diplomats, we should have filed a protest with the Batista Government about the

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kidnapping and then have offered arms or assistance to that Government in an effort to rescue our sailors and marines. Senate GOP Leader Knowland went further, July 1, and demanded that the US give Castro 48 hours to return kidnapped Americans—"or else." The "or else," said Knowland, would be to send US Army forces and equipment to provide Cuban President Batista the assistance he needs to insure "law and order." Knowland advocated this course instead of "yielding to international extortion and blackmail."

The result of our inept and irregular diplomatic action, it is pointed out, will be that Latin American governments will eschew the US as a provider of arms and will turn elsewhere — perhaps to the Soviet satellite state of Czechoslovakia, which actively carries on the manufacture and trading of arms.

This, of course, would be just what US officials sought to prevent when they pushed for the Rio de Janeiro treaty.

Finally, the insult to the Batista Government will be resented in Cuba, torn by Castro's bloody and costly insurrection. All in all, it is observed, the Cuban episode, however it turns out, will be another black mark on our handling of affairs with our neighbors to the south.

● The Americans detained in East Germany, Armenia, and Cuba, it is noted, are but a few of the many US citizens imprisoned by the Reds. Hundreds of American personnel are being held in Red China — a story which, despite State Department attempts at a cover-up, has filtered into the news (see HUMAN EVENTS for March 3, 1958). Less known, however, is the fact that an untold number of Americans are also being held captive in the Soviet Union. This story is told by John Noble, an American imprisoned behind the iron curtain for eight years, in his recent book, *I Was a Slave in Russia* (Devin-Adair; $3.75).

Noble, in an interview published last week, observed of US prisoners in Red slave camps: "Every day the Russians teased them — 'If you had a Government in America, they'd get you out.' "

Sherman Adams: With Bernard Goldfine's confession that he charged Sherman Adams' hotel bills to company expense, the noose tightens around the controversial Presidential Assistant. And, since the same sources which foreshadowed the above Goldfine testimony now are talking of further inquiry concerning the textile man's income-tax reports, the defenders of Adams seem likely to have even more difficulties.

Capital observers cannot forget that even Vice President Nixon — whose sources of information are extensive and formidable — introduced in his defense of the Administration anent the Adams affair a warning, suspended from a rather careful conditional clause overlooked by those who claimed Nixon had "gone all out in defense of Adams." The Vice President (in his TV interview of June 29) said: "The President has indicated that he believes he [Adams] should be retained in the position he holds — *in the absence, of course, of other proof which might indicate some activities which have not come to light to date.*"

● The most thought-provoking revelation in the Adams affair so far is that the "Palace Guard," in its entirety, actually numbers 465 persons. This is the official figure for the total White House working force (including "special projects" and maintenance people), as contained in the records of the Joint Congressional Committee on Non-essential Federal Expenditures (headed by Senator Byrd).

The magnitude of the White House force disturbs Washington-wise veterans who are acutely conscious that size of Governmental staff signifies a dangerous centralization of power. Further, according to the Joint Committee, the Palace Guard has grown appreciably since 1952; *in the last year of Truman's regime, it was 326; the corresponding figure under Eisenhower-Adams is 465, a rise of better than 45 per cent.**

How Alaska Got In: The Alaskan statehood bill was rammed through the Senate despite grave misgivings on the part of a large number of Senators — many of whom ended up voting for a bill which they privately opposed. This was accomplished by nothing more or less than Executive branch blackmail, wielded by Secretary of the Interior Fred Seaton. Such is the verdict of those who followed closely what occurred in the lobbies of Congress.

These sources disclose that Seaton simply held up decisions on reclamation projects and other matters pertaining to natural resources, until the White House was assured of compliance from Senators who were wavering on the Alaska bill.

"Reclamation" and other matters under Department of Interior jurisdiction serve as a powerful club over practically the entire bloc of legislators from the Western states, for whom an Interior decision whether to undertake such projects can spell victory or defeat at the polls. (Seaton is a Modern Republican, subscribing to the "liberal" concept of the "American dream"—a US imperium extending far beyond our national boundaries. Thus the domain once known as "Seward's folly" becomes, in Washington parlance, "Seaton's empire.")

Strange Coincidence Department: In its issue of June 9, 1958, HUMAN EVENTS called attention to the fact that the US had sent a delegation "stacked" in favor of halting nuclear tests to negotiate with Soviet representatives on this subject in Geneva, Switzerland. Two out of the three US participants, who began their negotiations last week, are reportedly in favor of test suspension. Now intelligence reaching the Capital carries further forebodings as to what might issue from the US-Soviet conclave.

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, kingpin of the "liberal" nuclear-physicist lobby and AEC security risk, has also, by an odd coincidence, popped up in Geneva. His stated purpose: to attend a separate scientific conference on "high energy physics."

Foreign Aid: The Council of State Chambers of Commerce, highly respected in the Capital for its conscientious

* "The interior apartments [of the Roman Emperor's palace]," wrote Edward Gibbon, "were entrusted to the jealous vigilance of the eunuchs, the increase of whose numbers and influence was the most infallible symptom of the progress of despotism" (from *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*).

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review of statistics concerning the health of the US economy, called last week for a sharp slash in foreign-aid funds, and pointed out forcefully how foreign giveaways drain the resources of the American people.

Council statistics breaking down the foreign-aid burden state by state show that California, for example, has provided nearly $8 billion in foreign-aid funds since 1945. New York has had to supply over $10 billion, Pennsylvania over $5 billion. Other sufferers, selected at random: North Carolina has kicked in more than $1 billion, Wisconsin more than $1.5 billion, Ohio more than $4.5 billion, Texas more than $3 billion, Florida more than $1.5 billion. Mississippi, usually cited as the prime example of a "poor" state standing in dire need of Federal aid, has been assessed over $300 million for giveaways to other countries. (Copies of this study may be obtained from the Council of State Chambers of Commerce, 1025 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington 6, D.C.)

● Also noted on the foreign-aid front were the remarks last week of Representative Otto Passman (D.-La.), chairman of the House subcommittee that led the way in cutting Ike's foreign-aid request by $872 million. The fiery Louisiana legislator lashed out sharply at attempts by the "Executive lobby" to thwart the actions of his subcommittee. "Let the President play golf," he said, "and let this great deliberative body decide the issues on the facts. If anyone can show that I am not giving the facts on the waste, the bribery, the corruption in this program, I will resign."

Inflation: As pointed out in HUMAN EVENTS for June 2, 1958, a workers' revolt against the extortionate and inflationary wage policy of the labor bosses is brewing among the grass roots. In a recent sampling of workers' opinion on inflation, compiled by pollster Samuel Lubell and appearing in the Scripps-Howard newspapers, a whopping 80 to 90 per cent of the workers in the Detroit area — the heart of Reutherland — say they are willing to forego further wage increases if prices and living costs can be held stable. By wide majorities, the result was the same in other large industrial centers, such as Chicago, Cleveland and Pittsburgh.

"I don't want any more wage increases," a Pittsburgh worker is quoted as saying. "They only raise prices and do no good." And, he continued, "we ought to hold down both prices and wages." "In all my years of surveying voter feeling," concludes Lubell, "I have never found the desire for stability as strong as it is running today."

The Lubell findings confirm the results of a poll conducted recently by Representative Charles E. Chamberlain (R.-Mich.). Examples of responses to the Chamberlain inquiries: "Don't let wages get too high or we'll price our products out of reach of any foreign market and also maybe our own"; "if wages go up, the cost of living more than offsets whatever wage increase is granted."

Menshikov: Capital conservatives last week applauded the remarks of Senator John Marshall Butler (R.-Md.), in his weekly newsletter to constituents, as he lashed Soviet Ambassador Mikhail Menshikov. While Red leaders indulge in rapine and murder, Butler noted, "unknowing or unwitting Americans rush to give . . . Menshikov every opportunity to spew the Communist line." The Maryland Senator also called attention to Menshikov's record in Poland, immediately after World War II, when he distributed American food and clothing, supplied through UNRRA, to pro-Communists, leaving patriotic Poles to starve.

● This episode in Menshikov's career is also recalled in an article entitled "I Knew a Different Menshikov," appearing in the June 15 issue of *This Week* magazine.

The author, Vladimir Shabinsky, relates that, as head of the grain-export branch of the foreign-trade ministry in the Soviet Union, Menshikov exported wheat from the famine-stricken Ukraine while a million Soviet citizens starved to death.

Shabinsky feels that Menshikov's aim "must be more than simply trying to charm President Eisenhower into a Summit conference . . . Menshikov is a trade expert. He knows that many American firms have profited by selling machinery to Russia in the past . . . [and] will probably make large Soviet bids for American machine tools."

Appeasement: Brought to light in the Capital recently was a sobering instance of domestic repression in the interest of foreign softness. In the wake of recent Soviet atrocities abroad — including the murder of Hungarians Nagy and Maleter, the detention of US airmen and the rigged demonstration against the US Embassy in Moscow — patriotic groups in the Capital sought to organize protests in front of the Soviet Embassy.

While the Kremlin promotes and superintends demonstrations against our personnel in Moscow, however, the American Government, through the District of Columbia police force, takes infinite pains to make sure that no similar affront is offered to the diplomats and espionage couriers who reside in the Soviet Embassy in Washington. A city ordinance forbids demonstrations within 500 feet of an embassy. This insures that any protest directed at the Soviet Embassy will occur either in front of the Statler-Hilton Hotel or the NEA building, which flank the Soviet chancellery on Washington's 16th Street. (From these distant points demonstrators cannot even see the building at which their protest is supposed to be directed.)

The Washington police have complete authority to give permission to demonstrate in front of the Embassy, but refuse to do so. One delegation requesting such permission was informed that, while the police were empowered to issue permits for demonstrations, they would not do so "with the way things are in the world today." Informed of this retort, one Capital newsman commented drily: "They must be sending the Washington cops to Foreign Service School."

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The Pentagon Bill: Hidden Dangers

By LAOCOÖN, JR.

THE DEFENSE REORGANIZATION bill contains much more than meets the eye. Although it has been subjected to careful study by the able Armed Services Committee of the House, it contains hidden dangers to our national security which have not yet been explored. It will soon be reported to the Senate, where every effort will be made to push it through Lyndon Johnson's legislative assembly line.

The bill supposedly charges the Secretary of Defense to "provide a comprehensive program for the security of the United States," and gives him the powers he needs for the job. But in reality it says: "There is confusion and misdirection in our strategic planning and defense policies. So coordinate everything, knock a few heads together, put it all under a Super-Chief, whose orders will be unquestioned. The problem of how to meet the Communist threat can be left under the rug where we swept it."

This nonsense is made palatable by the illusion that if Government officials are given more power, they will have more intelligence, and will become more single-minded in their devotion to our country.

Meanwhile, however, the bill solves none of our immediate or long-term problems of military organization. It distracts our attention from the real issues. And it may leave us with a new crop of political and technical problems to hamstring us if the crisis grows more acute.

The House Committee put three safeguards into the bill which, by themselves, would be very important. They directed that the Secretary of Defense must exercise his authority through the separate services — Army, Air Force and the Navy (the last named including the Marine Corps). This would keep the horde of Assistant Defense Secretaries in their proper place. The Committee directed that the Chief of Staff of each service shall retain the right to give his recommendations on Defense matters directly to Congress. They refused to make the Joint Chiefs into a General Staff under the Secretary of Defense.

The Committee members studied the text of the bill thoroughly, and also surveyed the history of congressional legislation on the Defense establishment. But they failed to take into account the fact that, today, no bill can be considered in isolation. The Federal Executive branch has been given vast grants of power, under many different statutes, hidden behind a dense curtain of secrecy.

Every new bill must be considered not only on its merits but on the basis of how it is automatically meshed into this network of great and nearly absolute Executive powers. It is the effect of the whole, not of the visible portion embodied in a single bill, which Congress must consider if it is to preserve the Constitution.

The sad fact is that Congress has no machinery whatever for studying how any one bill may be locked into the network of powers granted by statist legislation previously enacted. Its committees are set up to work in separate compartments. Most of the earlier legislation will never be submitted to the Supreme Court. Many latent powers have not yet been invoked.

Congress is fighting a series of battles. The Executive branch is fighting a war, and it has all the grand strategists it needs, working full time. It has powerful, skilled, well-financed allies outside the Federal bureaucracy — in the foundations, for instance — who know what they want and how to get it.

There is space here to list only a few of the provisions of earlier laws which should be considered in judging the current Defense reorganization proposal:

- The Middle East Resolution gives the President the authority to assign men and funds to the United Nations Emergency Force. What are the limits on this power? The UNEF is not a body with defined powers and duties. Its powers will be set by the UN Security Council.*
- Under mutual security legislation, the President is empowered to assign Government personnel, both civilian and military, to "international agencies," as he chooses. He also has various general appropriations on which he need render no account.
- The State Department has taken over the determination of over-all military policy. It freely admits that its policy is to operate, and compel those to whom we give military aid to operate, within the United Nations, which, by reason of its structure, cannot be unfriendly to the Soviet Union. Congress ratified that seizure of power in last year's mutual security bills.

ADD THESE UP. Combine with powers under the defense production bills and emergency powers of the President, mix with the statutory authority by which the President *can send our armed forces anywhere in this country* for virtually any reason. Where are we? Congress does not know. It has, today, no way to find out.

There is no possibility of giving this bill the exhaustive study it needs. The closing days of the session are made to order for rushing through bills which could never survive careful scrutiny in both houses.

The only hope lies in a public demand that no Defense reorganization bill be passed this year. Nothing whatever is lost if the bill does not pass. Next year it may be possible to have the wide public discussion and careful deliberation this bill requires. But the propaganda campaign in support of this bill is so well-organized, and working at such top speed, that only a maximum effort will prevent its passage in the wild rush of adjournment.

* When *Congress accepted our membership in the UN we took on many* responsibilities which have never been spelled out. During the Korean War, the President of the United States became an agent of the United Nations and transferred all American fighting men in the Korean area to a "UN Command." That precedent stands.

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Article Section *Printed in Two Sections*

HOW TO BEAT THE LABOR BOSSES

Missouri Business Leaders Prove It Can Be Done

By JAMES L. WICK

THE CHIEF political characteristic of the period in which we live is the growing impotence on the part of business, in Congress and in the court of public opinion — an impotence which allows left-wing union leaders, socialists and other foes of free enterprise to win battles by default. In Washington and in legislative halls across the country, where "actions speak louder than words," business and the free enterprise economy are taking a drubbing.

There is hope, however, that the business giant will rise from its lethargy at the "nine count" and stage a dramatic comeback. For a comeback can *be achieved — without violating the rules set out by the Marquis of Queensbury or the Congress. Results of isolated individual "bouts" suggest that the political trend can be reversed in the immediate future, if the required effort is forthcoming.*

One such case, with the Missouri State Chamber of Commerce as protagonist, provides a basic education in the manly art of political action. The Missouri Chamber "came back" against the labor bosses, to win a nearly unanimous decision in 1957 at the state level. The state AFL-CIO, in all likelihood, will try for a rematch this fall. But the Chamber is now operating from a position of strength. Moreover, it is making plans to challenge the labor bosses at the national level.

How did the Missouri Chamber reach its strong position? The answer is worthy of consideration by all business. First, however, it is necessary to dig into the background of the Missouri situation and to study events leading up to the Missouri Chamber action.

Missouri's 68th General Assembly, meeting in 1955, gave business and the state's economy a decisive shellacking. Union leaders were out to establish complete domination over state affairs, and they very nearly succeeded. By virtue of strong political action during the preceding year's elections, the state union leaders exercised considerable influence over a majority of the legislators in both houses. A large number of legislators, including a number from small rural counties with few union members, had accepted campaign contributions from the labor bosses.

As a result, virtually all union-leader sponsored legislation was passed and practically all legislation beneficial to business and the economy — including a right-to-work referendum—was defeated by the Assembly. Most of the union-boss legislation, however, was vetoed by the Governor.

Undismayed, the union leaders set their caps for accomplishment of their state-domination aim in 1957. And, back in 1955, it appeared to many that they might make it in 1957 with ease.

This negative situation in 1955 culminated years of complacency and political inactivity on the part of the state's businessmen, such as has become the general rule throughout the Nation. It was obvious to responsible Missourians that the only way to halt the trend toward labor-boss domination of the state was to stimulate greater interest and activity in state affairs by businessmen.

THE MISSOURI CHAMBER determined that, if the job was to get done, it would have to take the initiative. Accordingly, the organization's board of directors charged the Citizenship Responsibility Council with the task of evolving a program to accomplish the objective. It had to be a program without the taint of partisan politics — one that would transcend party lines and thus avoid one of the chief areas of criticism for most such programs. It also was apparent that the Missouri Chamber could not compete with the union leaders in the art of making campaign contributions, even if it had wanted to. The program was to be one devoid of cash inducements.

It was decided that the existing citizenship programs of the Missouri Chamber — including legis-

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lative clinics, research reports and other such services — would not suffice, even if stepped up considerably. The strength to stop the labor bosses, Chamber leaders believed, was there — in the form of businessmen and other responsible citizens concerned for the integrity of the free enterprise system. But that strength had not yet been tapped.

For the astounding truth was that Missouri businessmen simply had no idea of what was going on in their state legislature. The performance of their representatives in the General Assembly was as remote from them as life on another planet. If these businessmen knew the story, the Chamber believed, important strides could be made toward correcting the serious imbalance in the Assembly.

The Chamber's Citizenship Responsibility Council decided that mass methods could not drive the story home with the force and clarity necessary to generate effective action. A personalized, positive approach, it was felt, was required. The council recommended to the directors that representatives of the Missouri Chamber be instructed to travel the state — county by county, town by town — outlining the voting records of Missouri legislators and detailing their legislative performance on crucial issues.

The board approved the Council's recommendations late in 1955, and instructed John R. Thompson, executive vice president, to set the plan in action. W. A. Mann, Missouri Chamber President and a General Electric Company official, described the spirit in which the program was launched: "The state Chamber tried to anticipate every justifiable criticism beforehand and develop a plan of action that would accomplish the best results within the limits of the law and propriety. The Chamber was out to beat the union leaders at their own political game, while operating under a set of self-imposed rules more stringent than they had ever conceived."

For the next year — right up to the general election of November, 1956—staff members under the direction of Thompson and Reuben Tapperson, legislative director, engaged in the statewide leadership contact program. They traveled 40,000 miles and visited 104 of the state's 114 counties in carrying out the board's directive.

Contacts were made with newspaper editors, bankers, professional men and other community leaders — one at a time, face to face — in each of the 104 counties covered. The accent was on insuring that these Missourians grasped the legislative situation, as manifest in the 1955 performance of the General Assembly. In talking with the grass-roots community leaders, emphasis was placed on the importance of electing the best qualified persons to the Assembly, regardless of political party, and of knowing where the candidates stood on issues affecting business and the economy.

"We felt we were pioneering a new field of political activity," says Thompson, "particularly adaptable to the business organization operation. As far as we can tell, we were the first business organization in the Nation to tackle the problem this extensively and in this particular way — by getting to the heart of things right at the county and community level and laying the situation on the line before the men who could do most about it."

MANY OF THOSE contacted were surprised, and some were shocked, to hear the story of threatened union-boss domination. But more alarming to many was a compilation of the 1955 legislative voting records, showing how many of the "hometown" legislators were conforming to the union-leader pattern. This voting record was compiled, not by the Missouri Chamber, but by the state AFL. Reproductions, showing the voting record of each of the 191 members of the Assembly on legislative issues affecting business, were standard equipment of the Missouri Chamber staff men on their visits.

(These summaries were apparently used to better advantage by the Missouri Chamber than by the labor bosses. At any rate, the AFL has quit publishing compilations of voting records.)

For a large number of the business leaders contacted in the Missouri Chamber grass-roots effort, this was their first opportunity for a study of the voting records in true perspective. For others, it was the first time for considering the voting records under any circumstances. (Many of the people contacted became active on political matters locally after the Missouri Chamber visits.)

Those whose job it is to observe such things closely noted a decided change for the better in the make-up of the 1957 legislature. There were 52 new faces in the Assembly. Equally significant,

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many legislators who were re-elected displayed changed attitudes. It also is well known that many of those who failed to gain re-election were those active in their support of the union leaders' program. Among the latter were the chairman and vice chairman of the 1955 House Constitutional Amendments Committee, both of whom had abused witnesses when the right-to-work resolution was considered.

By actual tabulation, 87 members of the Missouri House consistently voted as union leaders dictated in 1955, while 30 were "middle-of-the-road." Only 38 voted as conservatives would like. (There were two vacant seats.) In 1957, it had evened out to 54 for union leaders, 52 in the middle bracket and 51 conservatives. A majority of 79 votes is required for passage of legislation in the Missouri House.

The difference this change in the make-up of the General Assembly made in the voting during the 1957 session is significant. The trend toward union-leader domination of government was halted in its tracks. Virtually every piece of legislation in the bosses' "blueprint for control" was defeated. Only one major bill in their program reached the Governor's desk, and it was weakened by amendment.

The "blueprint for control" defeated in Missouri followed the pattern of programs carried forward in the state legislatures across the country by union leaders at about that time. It included featherbedding measures, special-privilege legislation for unions, inspection bills which would have given union leaders considerable power over the operations of private companies. In Missouri, the "steering committee" for the union-leader program consisted of union business agents who had succeeded in getting elected to the Assembly. They answered only to their labor bosses, and certainly were not dependent on their meager legislative salaries.

No one was more surprised at their 1957 failure to push through their program than the union leaders, themselves — unless it was the business leaders responsible for the change, who thereby rediscovered a latent capability for effective political action.

Additionally, some important legislation beneficial to business and the economy was approved by the Assembly and signed by the Governor. Included was a bill stiffening the state's unemployment compensation law, shaping it into one of the best such laws in the Nation.

The Missouri Chamber grass-roots citizenship program, of course, was not the only factor in obtaining these results. It was, however, a most important factor — one which Missouri business leaders have not been neglecting in the year since the 1957 legislature adjourned its regular session. For, even though the 1957 Assembly represented a tremendous improvement over 1955, it actually was little more than a stalemate. And state union leaders could not be expected to take their setback graciously.

IF ANYTHING, the tempo of the Missouri Chamber citizenship program has been stepped up in the intervening period. The organization's leadership did not succumb to the tendency to "rest on its oars" once a certain degree of success had been attained. Despite sniping attacks against the Missouri Chamber and individual leaders by the state's labor press, the organization launched into an expanded program of political action a year ago, aimed at the August primary and November general elections this year and the regular legislative session in 1959.

The first step was to become armed with new facts garnered from the 1957 legislative session. Since the state AFL no longer published a compilation of voting records, it became necessary for the Missouri Chamber to prepare its own, a task which the AFL never expected it to do and one which few business organizations undertake. The compilations were strictly nonpartisan and had strong support from the Chamber membership.

At this point the decision was taken to augment the personal and individual contact phase of the program with a series of "report to business" meetings around the state. In this way it was hoped to broaden the scope of the presentation. But Missouri Chamber leaders were the first to recognize that this couldn't be just another bunch of "meetings" and still accomplish its purpose. A pattern for the meetings was established, based on the theory that "minds are not changed, nor action motivated, by speeches." Something more was necessary.

The pattern called for bringing together small groups of business leaders in their home areas, on

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a selective basis. A Missouri Chamber director was to serve as host at each gathering. The program which resulted in each case was to be conducted on a workshop-discussion basis, as informally as possible. It was to be pitched to the local, as well as the state-wide, interests of those present. Most important, it was to present with startling clarity the role of the local business leader in the state legislative picture.

To help accomplish the desired result, special trappings were prepared. These included colored maps of the state, graphically illustrating the relative politics of every member of the Assembly. For comparative purposes, maps of both the 1955 and the 1957 legislative sessions were used, indicating the effectiveness of Missouri Chamber political action between the two sessions and showing the need for further action. Charts were drawn to indicate the fate of particular legislation. Booklets containing small reproductions of all the display maps and material were given to each person at each meeting so that he might better follow the story of effective political action. To date more than 30 such meetings have been conducted in all sections of the state. More are scheduled.

RESULTS OF THESE efforts are already evident. One of the most significant has been a concerted effort by businessmen to see that good candidates filed for legislative posts on both tickets for the coming fall elections. A cursory analysis of filings shortly after the filing deadline, April 29, indicates that this effort had good effect and that the Missouri legislative picture will probably show further improvement.

Another important result stems from the fact that several of the meetings were conducted simultaneously with a special fiscal session of the Assembly early this year. Many erstwhile union-minded legislators changed their positions noticeably after meetings were held in their districts.

Partly because of its state-level success, but mostly because of a deep-felt conviction that action is also necessary to improve Missouri's congressional picture, the Missouri Chamber recently polled its membership on the desirability of extending its citizenship program to the national governmental plane. More than 25 per cent of the membership responded — and the response was overwhelmingly in support of such a move.

Consequently, organizational leaders are now drafting plans for such an extension at the earliest possible time. But they are proceeding with caution, to guard against the failure that can come from misdirected zeal. For one thing, they know that the procedures and techniques which have been so successful at the state level may not be the answer at the national level. They are using the state program as a "pilot" operation for the larger program, while considering modifications and variations. Indications now are that they will use a similar grass-roots, "personal contact" approach, featuring voting-record compilations and similar embellishments.

To the few who have offered criticism of the Missouri Chamber program for "getting business into politics," the officials are quick to reply: "It is evident that no one else is going to do the job that has to be done — here in Missouri and in Washington — if the free enterprise system is to survive. Someone has to stick his neck out, or he'll have no neck left."

Chamber officials point to the successful state-level program as proof that it's good politics to be anti-business *only* if businessmen do not assert themselves. More than that, they have shown what businessmen can accomplish in the field of political action when they are well-informed, well-organized and well-motivated.

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